

# PEACE NEWS

FOR NON-VIOLENCE AND UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT

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SIXPENCE

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## POLARIS

Special supplement on  
the missile

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# POLARIS BASE

‘Scotland seething with opposition’

—EMRYS HUGHES, MP

WITH “THE WEST OF SCOTLAND SEETHING WITH OPPOSITION” TO THE POLARIS SUBMARINE BASE ON HOLY LOCH, AS EMRYS HUGHES, MP, TOLD THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON NOVEMBER 4, PLANS ARE GOING FORWARD ALL OVER BRITAIN TO SECURE THE WITHDRAWAL OF THESE WEAPONS.

Although Scottish MPs have been unable to secure an effective hearing in Parliament, Scotland's leading daily, *The Scotsman*, has thrown its columns wide open to a debate on the issue.

After publishing a vigorous article by the Very Rev. George F. MacLeod of the Iona Community on Nov. 3, it gave space to Alastair Buchan, of the Institute of Strategic Studies.

Mr. Buchan's argument that Polaris was a hopeful development and a stabilising factor in the arms race because (a) it “bridges the intelligence gap,” cannot be detected, and the Russians won't know where it is, and (b) there is little chance of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war through a failure of communication be-

40 American Polaris submarines each with 16 nuclear missiles aboard, shadowed by 40 Soviet killer submarines, roaming the northern oceans, and perhaps Soviet and Chinese nuclear submarines patrolling the Pacific with a shadowing American escort, and conceivably an odd French vessel in the Mediterranean, and even in the course of time a few German nuclear U-boats in the Baltic.”

## MARCHES GALORE

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have a march organised in Glasgow for November 19, the Scottish Nationalists a public meeting for the following day, with many more meetings and marches by CND and various organisations in other towns.

## and in the USA

AT the US Naval Base at Charleston, South Carolina, members of the Committee for Non-violent Action were preparing to commit civil disobedience last Monday at the Navy Weapons Annexe where the Polaris missiles were stored.

The pacifist group announced that it would hold a “sea and land” demonstration to protest at the Navy's missile-launching submarine programme. Polaris weapons from the Annexe will be transferred to the submarine George Washington which is to become “operational” by November 15.

Members of the group said they would commit civil disobedience by either climbing aboard the George Washington and establishing a vigil on its deck; climbing on



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## UN disarmament inquiry urged

PAKISTAN has proposed that there should be a full-scale UN inquiry into the economic consequences of disarmament.

Reporting this from New York on Nov. 6 a *Times* Correspondent wrote as follows:

This proposal is believed to have wide support among European, Asian and Latin American countries, while Communist countries are said to be studying it with interest. The United Nations Secretariat, too, is known to favour such a proposal, especially in view of the possible utilisation of resources released by disarmament for the purpose of promoting the well-being of underdeveloped countries.

### 'Great changes'

The Pakistan draft resolution draws attention to the fact that "the impact of disarmament is likely to set in motion great changes in the domestic economies of states and in international economic relations as a result of the progressive diversion of human and material resources from military to peaceful purposes." It therefore asks the Assembly to establish a committee of, say, 12 experts from as many countries and charge it with the task of examining the subject and submitting its conclusions to the Economic and Social Council.

Among the committee's terms of reference would be: "The national economic and social consequences of disarmament in countries with different economic systems and at different stages of economic development, including, in particular, the problems of replacing military expenditures with alternative private and public civil expenditures so as to maintain effective demand and to absorb the human and material resources released from military uses."

## AGAINST APARTHEID

Mr. Alan Gibson, BBC International Rugby football commentator, is refusing to report games played by the South African Rugby team now in Britain. "My refusal will cost a sizeable slice of my income, but I feel it is a matter of principle," he told the press.

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Mr. Buchan's argument that Polaris was a hopeful development and a stabilising factor in the arms race because (a) it "bridges the intelligence gap," cannot be detected, and the Russians won't know where it is, and (b) there is little chance of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war through a failure of communication between Washington and the submarines, was ably answered in *The Scotsman* on Nov. 7 by Harry Milne, of Edinburgh. Mr. Milne wrote: "Neither of these propositions is in fact tenable. The Polaris submarine can be detected (Mr. Sandys himself said so), and destroyed. And communication between the submarine and its base or Washington can be completely broken (Admiral Rickover himself has said so)."

He went on to envisage "the prospect of

Soviet killer submarines, roaming the northern oceans, and perhaps Soviet and Chinese nuclear submarines patrolling the Pacific with a shadowing American escort, and conceivably an odd French vessel in the Mediterranean, and even in the course of time a few German nuclear U-boats in the Baltic."

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Canon Collins, Dr. MacLeod and A. J. P. Taylor will be speaking at big public CND rallies in Glasgow on Dec. 13 and in Edinburgh on Dec. 14.

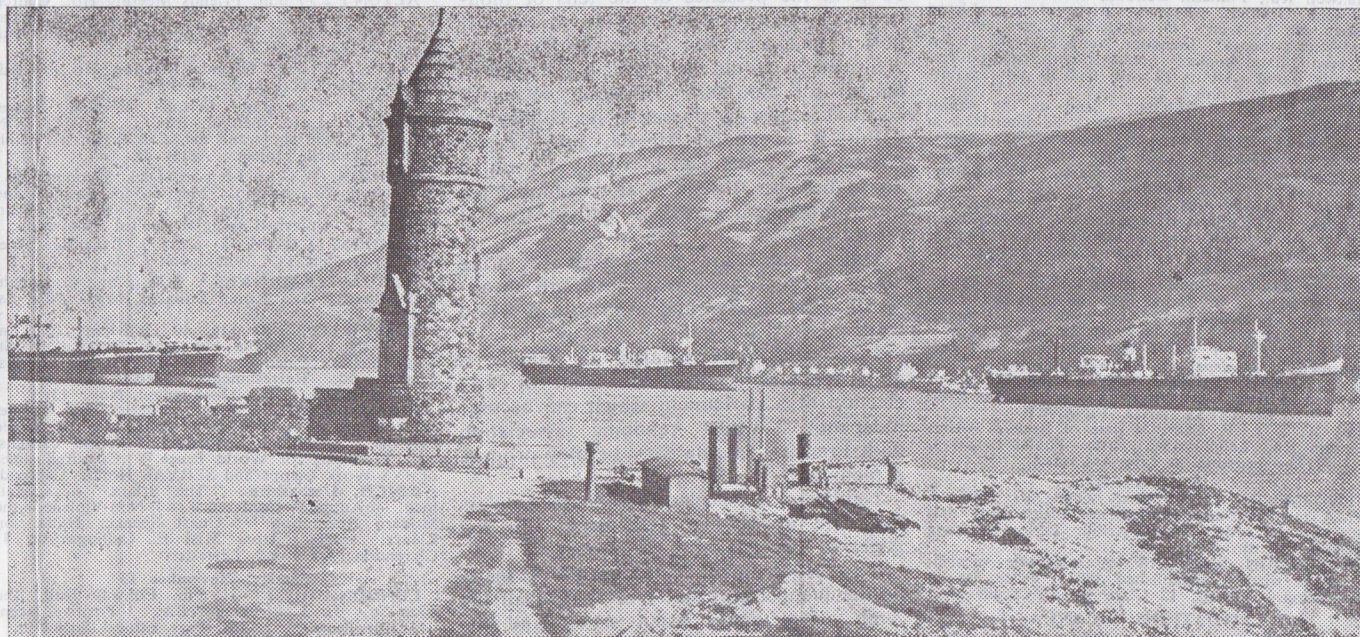
Michael Randle, Secretary of the Committee of 100 for non-violent civil disobedience, flew to Glasgow last weekend with another committee member to consult with trade unionists and others about the situation there.

AT the US Naval Base at Charleston, South Carolina members of the Committee for Non-violent Action were preparing to commit civil disobedience last Monday at the Navy Weapons Annexe where the Polaris missiles were stored.

The pacifist group announced that it would hold a "sea and land" demonstration to protest at the Navy's missile-launching submarine programme. Polaris weapons from the Annexe will be transferred to the submarine *George Washington* which is to become "operational" by November 15.

Members of the group said they would commit civil disobedience by either climbing aboard the *George Washington* and establishing a vigil on its deck; climbing on a Polaris missile itself, or entering a restricted area.

CNVA followers successfully boarded the *George Washington* and the *Patrick Henry* last month at the Thames River installation of the General Dynamics Electric Boat shipyards in New London, Conn., where the vessels were designed and built. The pacifists are staging a continuous protest in that area and have engaged in civil disobedience eight times. They carry the ND symbol familiar to British marchers.



'On the shores of the Holy Loch, a small inlet opening out of the Firth of Clyde in Scotland, there are the ruins of a church built five centuries ago, on the site of another church a thousand years older. It is here that the United States and the Macmillan Government have stirred up a tempest by proposing to establish a "floating base" for our nuclear-armed Polaris submarine.'—The New York Times, Nov. 7, 1960.



## PEACE NEWS

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### MEETINGS

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PEACE NEWS FAIR and Social, December 3. Claremont Hall, The Angel, Islington, N.1. Gifts of all kinds are required for sale. Please send to 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1.

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HAROLD STEELE—he tried to go to Christmas Island—is a Unitarian, and knows it. Are you a Unitarian without knowing it? Ask Unitarian Information, 6 Essex Street, Strand, W.C.2.

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MEET INTERESTING PEOPLE through informal hospitality of the Marriage Club. Both London and country members invited. Mrs. Prue White, 14, Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3.

PEACE NEWS and HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP

# Algerian crisis: Serious challenge to de Gaulle

By Fenner Brockway, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



I USUALLY write this column during the weekend before it appears, but today (Friday) I start on a campaign in the north of England and Scotland, in company with representatives of the African movements in Nyasaland and the Rhodesias. So I am compelled to write earlier.

This is unfortunate, because I feel impelled to write about Algeria, and I must do so before President de Gaulle has spoken.

A word first, however, about the crisis in Central Africa which is the subject of our campaign. One of my companions is Joshua Nkomo. He has just been elected President of the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia, which means in all probability that he will be Prime Minister of his country whilst we are still in the Sixties.

Joshua has been an exile in Britain. He happened to be in Cairo when the African National Congress, of which he was Vice-President, was suppressed. His fellow leaders were arrested. He hesitated.

Should he return and face imprisonment with his comrades? His emotion was to do that. Or should he proceed to London, as he had intended, to intensify pressure on the British Government?

Three days after the arrests I received an air mailed express envelope. It contained a pencilled letter written on toilet paper smuggled from the prison. It was from Joshua's colleagues asking me to urge him to carry on the agitation in Britain. I cabled the message to him in Cairo. He came to London.

He has done a splendid job here. He is an impressively towering figure and he speaks in a way which carries conviction. He is genial and has an engaging sense of humour, which even intrigues Empire Loyalist interrupters.

But his great quality is the breadth of his humanity. Among all the present tyrannies in Southern Rhodesia he is pleading for co-operation with Europeans.

## Will he be arrested?

These tyrannies have aroused hopeful European opposition—from the Churches,

plebiscite shall be agreed with them. Second, that there shall be impartial supervision.

In the event of an election these principles would mean agreement about voting qualifications, freedom of candidatures and campaigning, and impartial supervision of the balloting and the counting of the votes.

Such conditions would surely be acceptable to all reasonable people.

I understand President de Gaulle's difficulties. He was raised to office by the French extremists in Algeria. He has to face their opposition, and the opposition of their influential supporters in France. He has to face the opposition of the officer class in the army.

But the President must also be conscious of the rising demand for peace among the French people, a demand which grows every week. He has shown that he is prepared to go a good way in challenging the diehard attitude of the reactionaries. Cannot he go the rest of the way and accept now the reality, to which France must eventually come, that an Algerian peace is impossible unless negotiations on a basis of equality take place with the recognised leaders of the Algerian people?

## A bridge to peace

The leaders of the new African States which have been liberated from the French Empire have recently met in conference on the Algerian issue. They have been communicating with the President. Would it not be possible to make them a bridge between the President and the Algerian Provisional Government.

Could they not prepare the way for negotiations? Could they not contribute to the large personnel which would be required to supervise an election or a plebiscite?

It is possible that President de Gaulle may have something of this kind in mind.

If so, let him be unqualified in his acceptance. The time has gone by when half measures will be any good.

The prospect of a continued war is frightening. China is to send military personnel, trained in her own successful war against Japan and Chiang Kai-shek, and military equipment. Soviet Russia promises similar assistance.

Tunisia and Morocco, which have bravely demonstrated their solidarity with Algeria, will now face the issue of more active support.

These developments will throw the Algerian war on to the international stage with a challenge that cannot be avoided.

I don't want Algeria to become a party to the Cold War. I don't want any part of Africa to become involved in the disastrous Power struggle between West and East. I want to see Africa as an independent instrument for peace.

## Into the wider war

Chinese and Russian aid will inevitably involve Algeria in repercussions from the wider conflict. One cannot blame Algeria for accepting that aid. The French forces in Algeria have been released from her contribution to NATO. There is evidence that some of the French military equipment in Algeria, including bomber planes, have been of American origin.

One cannot blame; nevertheless, one deplores the descent upon the new world of Africa of the antagonism of the old world.

The President has gone far to act with history in other parts of Africa. He can only bring his France to disaster if he attempts to resist history in Algeria. He will bring it honour if he makes France a co-operator of history.

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## DIARY

Monday, November 14

LONDON, S.W.1: 10.30 a.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. Afternoon 2.15. London Appellate Tribunal for COs.

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. Brotherhood Ho. Eddie Burke: "Living Together in a Changing World."



areas. Morris Hunter (PN), 33 Victoria Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.

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**PEACE NEWS AND HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP** welcome visitors 9.30 to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, to 1 p.m. on Saturday. Voluntary work always available. Peace literature, books of all kinds, personal-commercial stationery, greetings cards, etc., on sale.

**SINGLE MAN** with large house and small holding wishes to contact others interested in developing same as Guest House Hostel. Can offer accommodation easy reach London. Box No. 865.

**WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL** welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WR1, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

#### LITERATURE

**CONTACT**—a South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 8s. 9d., 12 months 17s. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

**FREEDOM BOOKSHOP** has now moved to 17A Maxwell Rd., Fulham, London, S.W.6 (nr. Chelsea Football Ground), where a variety of second-hand books can be seen. Or send for a free copy of our weekly paper "Freedom," and our No. 11 list of second-hand books. Books sought for, and frequently found. Hours 10 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. Saturday 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

**FREE INTRODUCTION**. Send us the names and addresses of friends likely to be interested in Peace News. They will receive complimentary copies and an invitation to take eight weeks' trial subscription for 2s. 6d. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, King's Cross, London, N.1.

**QUAKERISM**. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends Home Service Cttee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

**SARVODAYA**—monthly magazine of the Bhoo-dan Movement in India may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1, at 12s. yearly, or 1s. (post 2d.) each issue.

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**ENDSLEIGH CHRISTMAS CARDS**: PPU & WMA members and sympathisers please note that these can be ordered from Arthur Taylor, 44 King Charles Rd., Birmingham 32.

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**SECRETARY REQUIRED** for Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Apply in writing to Mrs. Nuttall, WILPF, 29 Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

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### Will he be arrested?

These tyrannies have aroused hopeful European opposition—from the Churches, the University staff, the Bar, and finally from the Chief Justice who has resigned his office and declared that the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, and his Government "must go." Joshua will return to Southern Rhodesia in crisis.

Will he be arrested? His colleagues are still in prison for an "offence" of which he too was guilty—the offence of being an officer of a "subversive organisation." But Sir Edgar Whitehead will think twice before arresting Joshua. He would have to do it in the presence of the tens of thousands of Africans who will go to the airport to welcome their chosen leader.

Sir Edgar would be wiser in the present temper of Southern Rhodesia to mark Joshua's return by liberating his colleagues.

But it is about Algeria, not Central Africa, that I intended to write. I want to do so because Algeria is at this moment a more immediate crisis even than Central Africa.

Unless steps are now taken to bring about peace, Algeria may flare into an all-North African war and even into a world war.

It is said that President de Gaulle is going to propose an Algerian plan for early election of a parliament which can become independent whilst retaining association with France. Alternatively he may propose a plebiscite.

Neither of these plans can succeed unless they are applied in agreement with the Algerian Provisional Government.

That Government is recognised by many of the independent states of Africa, all the Arab states, some Asian states, and the Communist states. It has the allegiance of the great majority of the Algerian people. It cannot be ignored.

The Algerian leaders have made it clear that they will co-operate on two conditions. First, that the terms of reference of any

Empire have recently met in conference on the Algerian issue. They have been communicating with the President. Would it not be possible to make them a bridge between the President and the Algerian Provisional Government.

Could they not prepare the way for negotiations? Could they not contribute to the large personnel which would be required to supervise an election or a plebiscite?

It is possible that President de Gaulle may have something of this kind in mind.



Send notices to arrive first post Monday. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

#### Friday, November 11

**CROYDON**: 2.30 p.m. Adult School Hall, Park Lane. Annual sale & public mtg. Jane Addams Centenary. Two short talks. Mrs. B. W. Thomas, BA, JP, and Mrs. Evelyn Peat, Vice Chairman WILPF. Bring your friends—Bring your gifts. Teas. WILPF.

**LOUGHBOROUGH**: 7.30 p.m. Whitehouse Avenue. Hilda von Klenze. FoR and PPU.

**SOUTHAMPTON**: 7.30 p.m. YMCA. The Avenue. "War on Want." Mr. Chas. Wood. UNA.

#### Saturday, November 12

**ALTON**: 2.30 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Church St. Conference on Africa. B. C. Machyo (Uganda) and Paul Mushonga (S. Rhodesia). Credentials and tea 2s. PPU and MCF.

**LEEDS**: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Woodhouse Lane. Yorkshire area PPU.

**LEEDS**: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane (behind BBC). "WAR ON WANT." Film show and dance in aid of a Friends Service Council project. Adm. 3s.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 3-6 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., Euston. Meeting for business and discussion. L. A. Pavit, MP. "ND After Scarborough." Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship.

**LONDON, S.W.19**: 8 p.m. 1 Lancaster Ave. Social. Tickets 1s. Wimbledon CND.

**NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE**: 7.30 p.m. Connaught Hall, Blackett St. Konni Zilliacus, MP. Adm. 1s. CND.

**SHEFFIELD**: 7.30 p.m. 40 Hollybank Ave., Intake. (No. 95 Intake bus from Commercial St. alight at Rex Cinema). Musical Evening. Admission 2s. 6d. Refreshments served. PPU.

#### Saturday, Nov. 12—Sunday, Nov. 13

**BIRMINGHAM**: 3 p.m. International Centre, John Bright St. Week-end Conference of World Citizens. Dr. Hugh Schonfield, "World Citizens, New Proposals for World Peace." Coloured slides of IVS Work Camps and SERVAS Holidays abroad.

**CRICH, Derbyshire**: "The Briars," near Matlock. Autumn Conference: "Non-Violence—the Modern Revolution." Guest Speaker Hilda von Klenze. Details from Miss E. Cullingworth, 81 Clarendon Park Road, Leicester.

#### Sunday, November 13

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 11 a.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. H. J. Blackham, BA. "Positive Incentives for Peace." South Place Ethical Society.

**LONDON, N.1**: 3.30 p.m. Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., King's Cross. Universal Religion-Pacifist Fellowship. Derek Bryan, OBE, MA, "China and Peace."

**LONDON, S.W.1**: 2.45 p.m. Air St. (behind Swan and Edgar, Picc.). Armistice Day Poster Parade. CND.

**NORTHAMPTON**: 8 p.m. Market Square. "No Polaris Bases in Britain." YCND.

been of American origin.

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**RUGBY**: 7.30 p.m. Brotherhood Ho. Eddie Burke: "Living Together in a Changing World." PPU.

#### Tuesday, November 15

**BRADFORD**: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Melbourne Pl. Dr. J. Israelstam: "Palestine, its Problems and Future." PPU.

**BRISTOL**: 7 p.m. 20 Glenwood Rd., Henleaze. Stuart Morris. PPU.

**LONDON, S.W.6**: 8.15 p.m. St. James's Church Hall, Moore Park Rd. (off Fulham Rd., at Stamford Bridge). "Without the Bomb." Stuart Hall, Chas. Taylor, Pat Arrowsmith. Chairman: Michael Howard. CND.

#### Wednesday, November 16

**LONDON, N.9**: 8 p.m. Congregational Church Hall, Lower Fore St. Councillor K. Gomm: "Working for Peace in the Labour Party." Edmonton PPU.

#### Thursday, November 17

**LIVERPOOL**: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Hunter St. Tape Recording "Personal Violence." SoF.

**LONDON, E.11**: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Hugh Brock, "Pacifism in the Sixties." E.10 and E.11 PPU.

**LONDON, W.8**: 8 p.m. Non-Violent Study Group, 18 Campden Grove. "King-Hall's Proposals for NVR in Britain." Paul Garnham. Admission 1s.

#### Friday, November 18

**LONDON, S.E.1**: 11 p.m. Concert at Festival Hall in support of Defence and Aid Fund of Christian Action. Artists: Norma Procter, Peter Pears, Yehudi Menuhin, Benjamin Britten. Tickets from Christian Action, 2 Amen Crt., E.C.4. CITY 6869.

#### Saturday, November 19

**LONDON, N.W.1**: 2.30 to 8 p.m. Friends House, Euston Rd. Film Viewing Session. Recent films opposing war and supporting "War on Want," 1960 Aldermaston, "Come Back Africa!" showing apartheid in practice. Adm. 2s. 6d., tea tickets 1s. 6d. from Friends Peace Committee as above. Enclose s.a.c. please. SoF.

**LONDON, W.C.1**: 3-5 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Frank Dawry: "How Education can Prevent Delinquency." PPU Education Comm.

### Every week!

#### SATURDAYS

**LONDON, W.11**: Golborne Rd., off Portobello Market, north end. Peace Bookstall in Market. 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two-hour shifts are needed. Apply to the Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Porchester PPU.

#### SUNDAYS AND SUNDAYS

**LONDON**: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Week-end work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

#### THURSDAYS

**LONDON, E.11**: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hall, Bush Rd. (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.



# Eight weeks in a guardroom

On June 26, 23-year-old Aldermaston marcher, Geoffrey Hutchinson, from Ripley, Derbyshire, was arrested at a Royal Army Medical Corps unit at Queen Elizabeth Barracks, Crookham, Hants., for refusing to don a uniform or perform military service. Reports appeared in Peace News from July 1 onwards.

He had boycotted a conscientious objectors' Tribunal in order to attend the camp and make his protest among men of his own age.

A court martial sentenced him to 93 days' detention, but after eight weeks' confinement a civilian Tribunal ordered his discharge as a CO.

Below Geoffrey Hutchinson comments on his experiences.

**A**FTER pursuing a rather unorthodox course with regard to my conscientious objection to military service it is necessary to ask—was it worth it? I feel the answer is definitely yes. From the contacts I made among the men in the camp I realise more fully how much spade work has still to be done, but at the same time how minds thirst for an escape from the vicious circle of force.

Ignorance of pacifism was shown often by such statements as "I thought conscientious objection was a religious denomination." I was often asked "Are you a Quaker?" On hearing that I was Church of England, the questioner usually walked away with a baffled expression murmuring "But so am I."

I was with my fellow conscripts for two days before disobeying the order for which I was charged. In those two days I think a large percentage of the 140 men in my intake knew what I was going to do and I hope I succeeded in getting across to them an inkling of why I was doing it. I learned later that news of what I was doing spread quickly throughout the camp of upwards of 1,000 men.

Conditions in the guardroom whilst not like a holiday camp were tolerable. We rose at 5.30 a.m. and retired at 9 p.m. The only exercise each day was some two or three hours spent in clearing out the guardroom. Normally after a week in a cell a prisoner is transferred to a larger six-

bedded room with other prisoners. My offence, however, was such that I was kept in solitary confinement for the eight weeks.

The cells were simply furnished with a bed (taboo during the day) and a box. The walls were covered with sheet metal, light coming from a skylight of reinforced glass in the roof. Talking between prisoners was strictly forbidden—at least in theory.

A different sergeant was in charge of the guardroom each night, and I found most quite interested in—and sympathetic to—the views I held. I was allowed to receive a few copies of *Peace News* which were often borrowed from me for perusal. All incoming and outgoing mail was censored by the Adjutant, and he at least must have learnt something of the peace activities in this country.

## Questions and praise

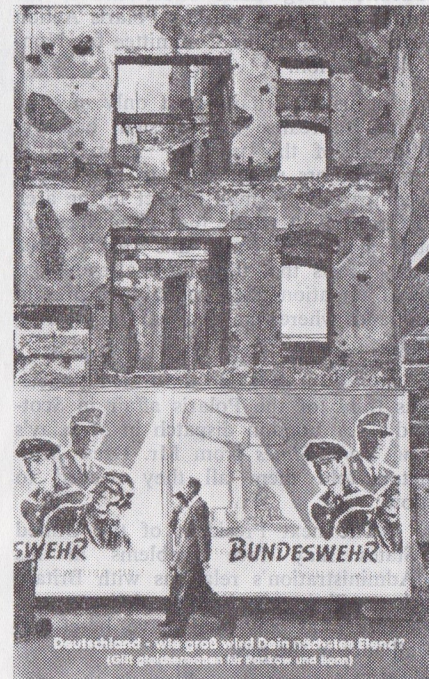
Following the recommendations of a discharge by the Appellate Tribunal, I was released from the guardroom and allowed to sleep in a barrack room in the camp, until final discharge papers arrived, on the express condition that I did not attempt to force my views upon others.

No forcing on my part was necessary. Entry into the dining hall was greeted with

many thumbs up signs. I was approached with questions and congratulations on all sides. Feelings seemed to be summed up when one man told me:

"The whole camp was behind you while you were in the guardroom! We are told so often that you cannot fight against the army and win."

Throughout my stay in the camp I was particularly struck by the helpful and considerate attitude of many of the officers. This attitude and the comparatively easy eight weeks' confinement I had, can only have come about by the example and work of COs over many years. My gratitude and thanks go out to those COs—may we continue to build securely on the foundations they have so ably laid.



These West German recruiting posters which appear under the bombed-out shell of a house tell the full story of militarism from the moment of romantic appeal to the final disaster. The setting seemed so appropriate that the

By Sybil Morrison

## WEAPONS OF WAR

I regard it (Polaris) as more effective, less dangerous to the civilian population, less likely to lead to war, more likely to preserve the peace than any other nuclear weapons hitherto available.—Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, MP, November 6, 1960.

**T**HE present concentration of public thought upon the question of the kind of weapons Britain is to produce and to hold in storage for the USA is probably unique in the history of wars and armaments.

In the past Britain's "moat defensive" made this island the least vulnerable land in all Europe; during the First World War her unconquered Navy remained unconquered, and the people who starved were Germans, not Britishers; during the Second World War the submarine menace was overshadowed eventually by the "terror" bombing of German cities.

Now the situation has entirely altered, and this island is the "buffer" between the USA and the USSR in the same way as the Balkan States were once cast in that rôle by Great Britain. In those days, and right up to the end of the Second World War, arguments about weapons were confined to experts and to so-called Disarmament Conferences; now, arguments about weapons is a man-in-the-street prerogative.

"We were never consulted," he says, indignantly, as though he ever had been! No one consulted the people when it was decided to use gas and tanks; no one consulted the people when it was decided to use "obliteration" bombing; no one consulted the people when it was decided to use the atom bomb; and, moreover, if they had been consulted the chances are that they would have shouted: "Yes," and echoed Churchill's popular cry: "We'll give it 'em back."

★

Weapons have always been the business of the War Office and its "back-room boys"; now it appears to be the business of political parties, trades unions, men-in-the-street, and, strangely enough, pacifists. Argument centres round the

## Glasgow : Direct action

**A**BOUT 30 people attended a special meeting at Community House, Glasgow, last Saturday to discuss ways and means of intensifying Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament activities during the winter months. After a short general discussion, the conference split into four separate groups will try to enlist support from the general council's work.

During the next few months these four groups will try to enlist support from the youth section of Glasgow Trade Council.

## PENNY FOR THE GUY

**G**UY FAWKES DAY will be behind us once more when you read this, although when I write small boys and girls are speeding up their





Conditions in the guardroom whilst not like a holiday camp were tolerable. We rose at 5.30 a.m. and retired at 9 p.m. The only exercise each day was some two or three hours spent in clearing out the guardroom. Normally after a week in a cell a prisoner is transferred to a larger six-

## PENNY FOR THE GUY

### GUY FAWKES DAY

will be behind us once more when you read this, although when I write small boys and girls are speeding up their weeks' long campaign for pennies for the guy.



On one occasion we had a poster parade on the evening of November 5, when we took our own guy in a bathchair through the West End. We distributed leaflets which said "Who is the Guy? You, if you accept conscription."

Although conscription is due to end on December 31, the reason for its demise is expediency and not return to morality or sanity. There are still too many otherwise sensible men and women who believe in the nuclear deterrent and thus, in the last resort, in war as a method of asserting or defending their rights. They are the real guys, still being led up the garden path and doomed, if their policy runs to its logical conclusion, to perish as did the guys on November 5 amid rockets which will be more than playthings.

But if we claim that we have the only sane and logical answer in the policy of total unconditional disarmament, we must be increasingly active in persuading others how wrong they are.

Not pennies for the guy, but pennies and shillings and pounds for peace—that is the appeal of Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund to you this week. And we could bring the total up to £1,000 if you will help and not do a guy!

STUART MORRIS.

General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.  
Amount received to date: £881.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

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During the next few months these four groups will try to enlist support from the youth section of Glasgow Trades Council, university students, constituency Labour Parties and MPs, teachers, professional and religious groups.

The question of direct action was discussed by a special committee and it seems likely that some members will organise demonstrations against military bases in West Scotland, reports John Connell. A proposal that the big "unilateralist" unions should be approached for financial backing will be considered at the next meeting of the Glasgow Council.

## On TV

SOME aspects of war as it appears on film will be discussed by Derek Prouse on Friday, November 11—a significant date—on BBC TV. The programme, in the series "The Cinema Today," will include extracts from such well-known films as "All Quiet on the Western Front," "La Grande Illusion," "Paths of Glory," "The Way Ahead," and the Finnish film "The Unknown Soldier."

## On Radio

Professor Edgar Wind, first professor of the History of Art in the University of Oxford and Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, will deliver the Reith Lectures this year in the BBC Home Service, between November 13 and December 18.

The subject of the lectures will be "Art and Anarchy," which will include titles as follows: "Our Present Discontents," "Aesthetic Participation," "Critique of Connoisseurship," "The Fear of Knowledge," "The Mechanisation of Art," and "Art and the Will."

The programmes will be repeated shortly after in the BBC Third Programme.



These West German recruiting posters which appear under the bombed-out shell of a house tell the full story of militarism from the moment of romantic appeal to the final disaster. The setting seemed so appropriate that the scene was reproduced on a postcard which can be obtained from Dieter Baum, Frankfurt/M, Landgraf-Philipp-Str. 51, for 5d. each.

## Briefly

A 21-YEAR-OLD National Serviceman, Timothy Dorgan, of Dagenham, Essex, was court martialled in Lincoln recently for going absent without leave in protest against the Government's nuclear defence policy.

Absent from September, 1959, to August this year, he took part in several Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament marches.

The court martial sentenced him to 9 months' detention.

The South African Liberal Party has appealed to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to make a proviso—if the South African Republic is refused membership of the Commonwealth—that South Africa can be readmitted after a multi-racial government is formed.

The Dutch Government intervened recently to prevent the Belgian pacifist leader Jean van Lierde speaking in Amsterdam on his experiences in the Congo. —WRI News Service.

Over the past 16 months 1,400 people have participated in a vigil still being maintained outside the US Germ Warfare centre at Fort Detrick. It may spread to the nerve gas plants at Newport and Rocky Mountain Arsenal. The suggestion that "Detrick could be a health centre" has made local newspaper headlines.

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Weapons have always been the business of the War Office and its "back-room boys"; now it appears to be the business of political parties, trades unions, men-in-the-street, and, strangely enough, pacifists. Argument centres round the use of particular weapons, not around the reasons for using them or the causes likely to make their use necessary.

It is a tragedy that the concentration should be upon the weapon, which is the symptom, instead of upon the cause, which is war, for the fact is that the weight of opinion against the weapon is constantly counteracted by the weight of opinion upon the probability of its use.

An objection to mass destruction as such leaves the way open for an acceptance of war so long as it is understood that such weapons as are used, are not designed to destroy millions, but only hundreds. The horrible weapon called "napalm" which was used in the Korean war does not come into the category of nuclear weapons, and if nuclear weapons were abandoned napalm would still be in existence for use in a war.

To assume that any future war is bound to be a nuclear war is denied by Korea, Suez and Algeria, and to appear to condone any war so long as nuclear weapons are not used, or to protest against particular wars because they may result in the use of nuclear weapons, is scarcely the business of pacifists who are convinced that it is war itself which is evil and which is the mother and father of nuclear weapons.

War itself has proved to be the enemy in the past, and it is no different to-day; indeed, it is perhaps doubly proved, since there can be no doubt that the absolute necessity for victory laid down by the Western Powers in their "unconditional surrender" policy, led directly to the fear-some risk that was taken by the use of the atom bomb.

To build and build and build up stockpiles while shouting and shouting and shouting for disarmament is madness enough, but for pacifists to miss the opportunity to show and to prove that there is no answer to nuclear weapons other than the decision to abandon the whole idea of war is tragic. Weapons of war is a common phrase; war of weapons is not; it is starkly clear to-day that abandonment of war is the way to abandonment of weapons.



# Will the Queen launch the first Polaris missile?

LET no one accuse Her Majesty of sloth. In recent months she has been whisked from one military installation to the next, viewing missiles, trooping colours, inspecting cannon fodder, sanctifying all by her presence. On glorious Trafalgar Day she graciously launched Britain's first nuclear submarine. Now what about launching the first Polaris missile?

This would enable Her Majesty to see the end product of so many of her arduous tours of duty. It might even iron out some of the problems of political control over the military.

No doubt much thought is being given to the chain of command for strategic nuclear weapons. And since these will be of no military value if they are fired second, perhaps there is also acceptance of the timing of their use first. Has anyone proposed Easter Day? This would be a fitting culmination to testing at Christmas Island and basing in Holy Loch.

In extending its traditional welcome to this base in Scotland the press has again displayed its extraordinary priorities. *The Observer*, for example, last Sunday started from the assumption that the Polaris has now "made more stable than ever" the balance of power—it offsets Soviet advantages in ground-to-ground inter-continental missiles.

But does anyone suppose that the Soviet Union (which has the largest submarine fleet in naval history) is not also working on a comparable programme? Leaders of Communist China have spoken of large-scale submarine development, and will have such missiles in mind as they press on with the creation of their own nuclear weapons.

Nobody really believes in the balance of power. It is like your bank balance—you always want it to be in your favour. Would *The Observer* recommend reduc-

ing the West's military strength if it ran too far ahead of Russia's? The balance of power theory is only for the determined myope.

It was not until the final words of its editorial that the newspaper got round to talking vaguely about disarmament, which is surely where considerations should start. What effect, we must ask, does Polaris have on the possibilities of inspection and control—that ultimate deterrent to all disarmament proposals?

It was this question, incidentally, which was such a powerful feature of the peace education programme undertaken in the United States this year by Polaris Action—an offshoot of the Committee for Non-violent Action.

Many of us in Britain must only now be coming to realise the foresight and significance of this protest. Even if the demonstrators might seem to have made a comparatively small impact in the area of Connecticut where the submarines are built, a glance through this week's *Peace News* shows that they have already laid the foundations for valuable work in Scotland where the ferment is growing daily.

What, one wonders, do informed Americans think of the Polaris affair in Scotland? A London dispatch in Monday's *New York Times* from Mr. Drew Middleton told them all they needed to know:

"The next President of the United States may face problems in his Administration's relations with Britain that will be as difficult, delicate, and complex as any that have beset the alliance in the past.

"The essential problem is the continued development in Britain of neutralist and pacifist sentiment that is indifferent or hostile to policies of the United States and tolerant of or friendly to those of the Soviet Union. The wave of protest over plans of a United States submarine base in Scot-

## NEW POLITICS

by Christopher Farley

land is only the latest example of the problem."

That may be adequate for US consumption, but the old smear technique no longer works in Britain. Last person to try it (as a final resort) was Hugh Gaitskell at Scarborough, and you couldn't hear yourself shout for the next minute.

Mr. Middleton, it should be explained in fairness, is a special case. I remember once reading his lengthy report of the opening day of one of the Aldermaston marches and I honestly had difficulty in finding a sentence that did not contain at least one major factual inaccuracy. Since he doesn't know the most elementary things about these campaigns it's no wonder he has to resort to his own special brand of reportage.

Perhaps it was through reading reports from men of Mr. Middleton's calibre that Mr. Dulles formed his unique angels-of-light-versus-the-devil view of contemporary politics.

## Freedom of choice

AS the US Presidential candidates were making their final promises and accusations to the permanent audience, Alistair Cooke traced in *The Guardian* on Monday the evolution of modern electioneering: "... the custom which now expends about \$10,000,000 of the people's money, burns up jet fuels by

day and cathode tubes by night, and threatens the sanity of the candidates and the longevity of the newsmen."

There is little doubt that a spectacular ticker-tape entry into a city does not encourage serious thought about election issues. There is also a great danger that television emphasises personalities rather than policies. Yet this is the direction of development of the machinery of Western conventional democracy.

Real freedom of choice, like freedom from fear, is being made impossible by our tired politics. The hydrogen bomb is only one—perhaps the worst—example of a fundamentally wrong relationship between people. The American election has also been a frightening sight.

Some of us still believe that informed, collective, free choice is possible and necessary. But everywhere the units are too big, the vision too narrow, the leaders too irresponsible and the led too docile.

In Britain there is about to be a number of by-elections which look as sterile as ever. But in Nye Bevan's old constituency there are a Tory and three unilateralists standing—one a Liberal military man, one a Welsh nationalist with a comprehensive programme, and one an accepted spokesman of the Left of the Labour Party.

Does this sort of election offer real choices? What takes people to the voting booths? It is when we see contemporary politics fleetingly in touch with ordinary people that we realise how shaky are the foundations on which Western life is built. I am taking the train to Ebbw Vale.



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### Pondos extending boycott

MORE than 12,000 Pondo tribesmen decided last Saturday to strengthen and extend the boycott of White towns and institutions in Eastern and Southern Pondoland, South Africa. The boycott started in the town of Bizana last week.

The tribesmen are defying the South African Government's tribal authorities system.

It was also decided to boycott Monday's big tribal meeting at Bizana airfield to be addressed by Mr. Victor Leibbrandt, chief magistrate for Transkei, representing the Government. This boycott was a complete success, although 15,000 tribesmen had been expected to attend.

In the Flagstaff district thousands of trees in Government forestry plantations were recently burned down. The official view is that this was arson.

### A Punjabi-speaking state?

IN India the agitation for a separate Punjabi-speaking state, Punjabi Subha, continues, though it appears to be flagging.

For about five months members of the Akali Dal, the militant Sikh organisation conducting the agitation, have been courting arrest. Issuing from their temple sanctuaries, they have been bundled into police vans and prison.

In Amritsar the leader of the Akali campaign, Sant Fateh Singh, has announced his intention of beginning a fast to death if the Government does not grant the Punjabi Subha demand within six weeks. Mr. Nehru has been categorical in his affirma-

## THIS IS YOUR WORLD

tions that the Sikh demand will never be granted.

*The Times'* correspondent in Delhi pointed out last Sunday, however, that "it will be remembered that it was the death by fasting of a Telegu leader agitating for creation of Andhra state that broke the Government's resistance to linguistic reorganisation of the states in 1952."

### The right of French refusal

M. JEAN-PAUL SARTRE and Mme. Simone de Beauvoir, who recently returned to Paris from abroad, were questioned by the police last Saturday.

This was in connection with their signing of the manifesto defending the right of young Frenchmen to refuse to serve in Algeria. Unlike 30 of the original signatories of the document they were not charged with incitement to desertion.

After they had seen the police they said that if the examining magistrate did not charge them, then they would, respectfully but firmly, ask to be charged.

### 'Blissful planning' at War Office

THE target figure of 180,000 men for Britain's future all-regular Army has been scrapped.

The Government has decided, on financial grounds, to return to the original figure of 165,000, though—as *The Times'* Defence Correspondent put it last Monday—"the War Office are still blissfully planning on the basis of a strength of 180,000 by about

1965. . . . In effect, the Government's policy of buying recruits has priced itself out of existence."

### A new satyagraha campaign

FOLLOWERS of Vinoba Bhave, India's walking land reformer, are preparing a non-violent resistance campaign against the cinemas in Indore which exhibit "indecent and unhealthy" posters advertising films.

*The Times'* correspondent in Delhi commented last Sunday: "Followers of the Gandhian way have long recognised that their peaceful methods of expressing protest and exerting moral pressure are subject to rapid debasement when used for trivial purposes, and there has been disappointment that Vinoba Bhave should lend his support to this puritanical campaign."

### African advancement

THE Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union—representing European daily paid employees in the copper mines—last Saturday accepted new proposals for African advancement in the mining industry.

Only unskilled jobs are affected. The aim is to set up a single wage structure from labourers starting at eight shillings a day plus bonus to operators, so far exclusively European, earning 10 times as much. In future there will be only one ladder of promotion from the lowest job to the highest, in which only ability (not race) will be the deciding factor.

In an 80 per cent poll 1,868 European

miners voted in favour of the proposals and 1,288 against.

### South Africa's treason trial

THE argument for the Crown in the South African treason trial opened on Monday. The defence closed its case on October 7.

On December 5, 1956, the police arrested 156 men and women of various races in different parts of the country on allegations of high treason. Sixty-five were discharged after a preparatory examination which lasted a year.

There are now only 29 left before the court. The indictment alleges organised conspiracy to overthrow the state by violence. The Crown claims to have proved "beyond reasonable doubt that every one of the accused was engaged in a plot against the state, of a nature which if allowed to continue its course would have ended in bloodshed, death, and disaster for both Black and White citizens of South Africa."

★

In Kenya tribal clashes at a Kenya African National Union (KANU) meeting last Saturday resulted in the death of one Kikuyu and the wounding of some 20 Kikuyu and Masai. *The Times'* Nairobi Correspondent last Sunday reported that "political tension in Kenya is at its worst pitch since the height of the Mau Mau emergency."

A British prisoner cost an average seven pounds one shilling and twopence a week to detain in jail in the year 1958-59. The cost of young offenders in Borstals and Detention Centres was much higher, the Home Secretary stated in a Parliamentary Written Answer on October 27.



# The plain man's guide to POLARIS

## What is Polaris?

"Polaris" is the name given by the US Navy to a weapon for massive retaliation. The weapon has two parts, combining atom-powered submarines with solid-fuelled, intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

The nuclear submarines can remain submerged for two months, dive to 500 feet, speed faster than 40 miles per hour, and cruise over 70,000 miles on one charge of uranium. Each carries at least sixteen missiles. The ships cost of 100 million dollars each have been called "the most complex things ever built by man."

Like the submarines themselves, the Polaris missiles have their own inertial guidance systems and will have a range of more than 1,500 miles. Each missile can carry an H-bomb warhead in excess of one megaton, enough to obliterate a large city. Having solid fuel engines, the missiles can be launched quickly from beneath the ocean's surface and can be stored for long periods of time without maintenance.

Each submarine will be able to launch within fifteen minutes several times the explosive power of all the bombs dropped by US planes in World War II, and the fleet of 50 an attack six times greater than one which the Rand Corporation estimated would kill 160 million Americans in 36 hours.

## Why is Polaris so important?

The British Government has decided to set up a base on the Holy Loch, near Glasgow, for these submarines.

Polaris submarines are very difficult to detect when away from their harbour and provide a missile launching base which a surprise attack could not easily destroy. Americans say that because they will be stationed far from US shores an attack on them will not devastate the USA. "They will draw fire away from us."

They offer an extremely powerful massive retaliation force at costs lower than other missile systems.

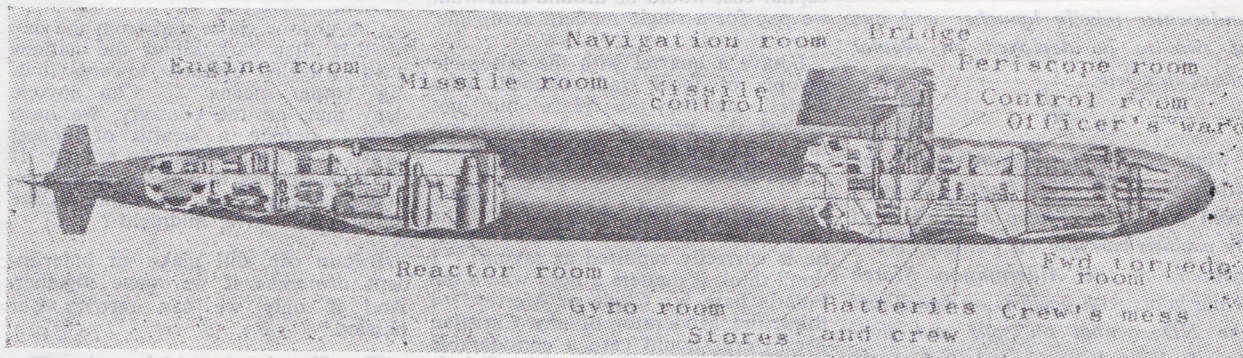
US Navy plans call for a fleet of at least 50 Polaris submarines with a total striking power of over 800 missiles.

## What Polaris means

That one nation can threaten to burn, blast and radiate to death tens of millions of people.

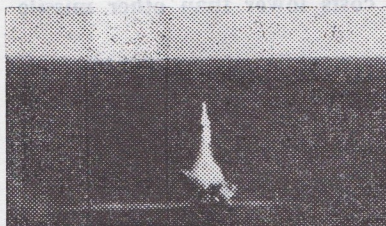
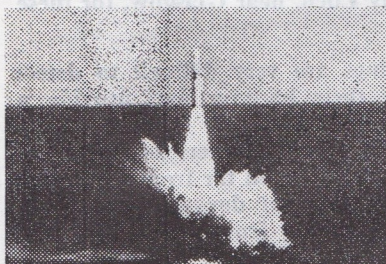
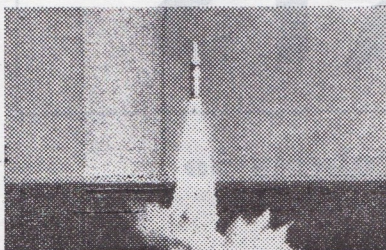
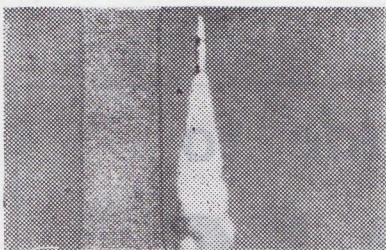
Polaris will virtually end hopes for controlled disarmament. When nations cannot agree on adequate inspection systems for nuclear bomb tests, what hope is there that nuclear submarines can be monitored?

*Continued overleaf*



Cut-away view of the submarine "George Washington."





From a launching tube aboard the submarine *George Washington*, a Polaris missile erupts through the surface of the sea and roars skyward. The photo sequence was made during test firings.

The submarine is the nation's first underwater missile launcher and one of two to be deployed on regular patrol this year.



Since June 1 the shipyards where the submarines are being built—125 miles from New York—have been picketed by pacifists carrying the familiar "ND" symbol of the Aldermaston March while boats with pacifists on board and the ND symbol on sails and signboards have been in and out of the docks with messages of protest.

## What Polaris means

From overleaf

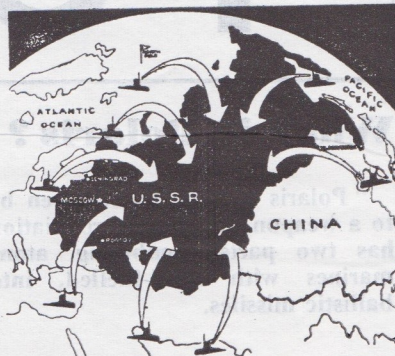
Polaris will increase chances of war through mechanical or psychological accident. There is no guarantee that the captains of Polaris submarines, who have the power to start total war, will be responsible men.

Polaris will increase international tensions. It will place H-bomb missile sites a few miles off the coasts of the antagonistic powers. What would be the response of the British people if

## No consultation

THE agreement for a Polaris submarine base in Scotland was said authoritatively today to leave the United States free to launch the nuclear-tipped missiles without prior consultation.—*The New York Times*, Nov. 3, 1960.

Russia began to build missile bases in the Republic of Ireland or in Boulogne or Ostend? What will the Russians think when Polaris submarines are reported in the Baltic, Black Sea and the Mediterranean? Already provocative maps like the one below are appearing in American publications.



## THE ALTERNATIVE

THIS... is not a cheap jibe at our politicians in any party. It is madness for politicians to legislate more than a few yards ahead of public opinion. I have no quarrel with the Prime Minister on his Polaris statement, in the present apathy of public opinion.



I have a quarrel with apathy. I may well have a quarrel with you. I have a quarrel with those people in Dunoon who say: "Why not. It will be good for trade." If that is the issue, let us at once buy annuities of £1,000 a year for every publican and every café proprietor in the town. The capital cost would be around half what we pay for a single modern aeroplane.

I have a quarrel with the miserable myopia of local trade councils who protest against the place but not against the principle. A plague on those who are careful about Clyde and could not care less about Mersey.

I have a quarrel with my friend the Moderator of Glasgow Presbytery if he is correctly reported as saying: "I don't think it matters a hoot where the Polaris base is: Clyde or Mersey." I think the Moderator of any Christian Presbytery should care a considerable number of hoots if there is a Polaris base anywhere on earth.

On November 1, 1960, we became directly responsible for the Polaris. I hope it is only coincidental that we have done so on All Saints' Day and chosen a site that was holy. True, only for a moiety of our people now do such facts mean anything. But for that moiety November the First is the day of Communion with the Saints who "laid down their life for their friends".

Between Hiroshima and now, how far we have travelled. Truman, in 1945, in effect, declared that he had allowed Hiroshima "that the nations of the world might find other means of settling their disputes."



Can anyone claim that from the day of that first dark cloud the nations have struggled upwards towards finding "other means"? Can anyone deny that, on the contrary, we have moved, despite a wealth of honest effort, ever further into the night? If we look steadily at Polaris, is it quixotic to suggest that we stand at five minutes to twelve, midnight?

Britain can still make an independent *démarche* if we move together. And if only we can recover our passion.

The Church must think again. The fancy grows that in the Church there

## Polaris Missile For S

IN April, 1960, the press was reporting that the Western powers were planning to supply the Soviet Union with Polaris missiles in September, 1960.

Why? The missile bases they have built.

The plan is, for example, to build independence nuclear warheads.

The British Polaris on the coast, and coastal barges, "expert sources."

New York Times: "Polaris missiles prepared with requirements." Cary, "Mad."

## TO M

are pacifists recalled that "the others unprincipled in a 'just war' was the war means.

Continuing themselves b is now anyifies the mean we are now them to bec to recover *démarche*.

Leastways, demands that their justice confine them trust the Afri heights of no ask of "pri barbarism."

But who a we "the ma Christianity "their teach defence of o foolish as to effective, so impractical"

Politicians only parade



## Polaris Missiles For Sale

IN April, 1960, it was announced in the press that the USA was planning to supply Polaris missiles to certain Western European nations by September, 1961.

Why? Because today fixed-site missile bases can be "zeroed in": they have become "sitting ducks."

The plan is that Great Britain, for example, would retain her "nuclear independence" by putting her own nuclear warheads into Polaris missiles.

The British are planning to instal Polaris on railroad cars, trucks and trailers, and on river barges and coastal barges. Not only that, an "expert source," according to *The New York Times*, has revealed that "Polaris missile designs have been prepared with West European requirements in mind."—William H. Cary, "Madmen at Work."

## BIG BUSINESS

THE Polaris submarines are being built in the USA by the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics, the largest arms manufacturing concern in the country. General Dynamics have been responsible for three of the most important weapons for massive retaliation: B-58 "Hustler" H-bombers, Atlas ICBM's, and now Polaris. Total sales in 1958 were 1.5 billion dollars, 85 per cent military.

Its President is Frank Pace, Jr., former Secretary of the Army. Political scientists Henry Kissinger, exponent of preparation for "limited" nuclear war, and physicist Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb," intransigent opponent of a nuclear weapons test ban, are on its consultative board.

"The core of General Dynamics' corporate philosophy," says an article in *Fortune* magazine (February, 1959), "is the conviction that national defence is a more or less permanent business." "National defence" is seen as requiring an ever more speeded-up arms race.

The article notes that General Dynamics' stockholders are doing all right: that a share worth \$40 in 1954 had in five years come to be worth five times as much.

## TO MASS DESTRUCTION

are pacifists "and others." It must be recalled that for the last 15 centuries "the others"—non-pacifists—were not unprincipled. Their doctrine was that in a "just war" Christians might bear arms. The salient condition of a "just war" was that "the end," for which the war was waged, justified the means.

Continuing non-pacifists must ask themselves before God whether there is now any conceivable end that justifies the means to which, in Holy Loch, we are now committed. I do not ask them to become pacifists. I ask them to recover some passion for a *démarche*.

Leastways, let them cease from their demands that the Africans, in seeking their justice in South Africa, should confine themselves to non-violence. I trust the Africans will still rise to the heights of non-violence: a big thing to ask of "primitives," of "just-out-of-barbarism," "childlike" Africans.

But who are we to ask it of them: we "the mature," we who have "had Christianity for a thousand years," we "their teachers"; if, faced with the defence of our justice, we are not so foolish as to rely on anything so ineffective, so starry-eyed, so "utterly impractical" as non-violence.



Politicians must think again. The only parade that has yet protested

through the streets of Glasgow at Polaris has been the Communists: hammering courteously on the doors of the American Consulate. (I will not join such a procession until, before it goes home, it hammers with equal courtesy on the doors of the Russian Consulate, protesting against Red military assistance for the Alge-

By the Very Rev.  
George F. MacLeod

*Abridged by permission from an article in the Scotsman, Nov. 3, 1960. Dr. MacLeod, former Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, is well known for his work with the Iona Community.*

rians.) But the point is that only the Communists are marching.

Let gentlemen of the Right chuckle at the deep distresses of the thrice-split Labour Party. But they are advised not to chuckle too long. If Labour gets half-split into conventionals versus a sort of unilateralist ILP and working men get fed up of the lot, they cannot live for ever in a vacuum. They will look again to Communism as a possible salvation from a moribund Ulster-like democracy. Nor will they be saved.

But what is the *démarche*?

It is British leadership of a dynamic

neutrality, which India and Africa are waiting to join—and how many more? It must not be left to dissident Labourites to lead. It must be the British Houses of Parliament, Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Opposition, forced—and I doubt not gladly forced—by the recovered passions of Britain who dare not countenance this thing.



Do not let us have an anti-Polaris campaign, with its inevitable subscription, its annual general meeting, its tortuous constitution, and its tight-rope contortions to keep pacifists, Communists, and fellow travellers all shooing on one wire. Let every man recover his passion, in every party, and Britain her moral leadership.

"There is one thing mightier than armies, an idea whose hour is come."

What is your reaction to that? Is it, in languor, to look at the other headings . . . the price of gold, the motor-car recession, the divorces, African violence, teddy-boy murders, alleged bribes, and racehorses that are doped?

Consider well whether they are not all part of the same subject: all pointers to a nation that has lost its moral passion: all pointers to a clock that stands at five to twelve.

Could Holy Loch be the signal that puts back the clock?



# What they say . . .

## PRIMITIVE WEAPON

IT is a primitive weapon. Its margin of error is so great that it is pointless to zero it on Soviet nuclear bases: it can be used only for the indiscriminate destruction of Soviet population centres. The 16 H-bomb warheads carried by the George Washington are therefore designed solely for the slaughter of tens of millions of Russians. Britain, as part of the Polaris system, must therefore expect retaliation on a comparable scale.—New Statesman, Nov. 5, 1960.

## MASS DESTRUCTION

THE Polaris submarine in a situation like Lebanon, for example, is of no value whatever. It is good only for mass destruction. . . . Polaris is a strictly retaliatory weapon system. It has no mission except retaliation; no mission except to destroy Russia if she wants to start something. This is the only thing the weapon system is good for.—Admiral Burke, Chief of US Naval Operations before a Senate Armed Services Subcommittee, Jan. 29, 1959.

## NEVER A THOUGHT

POLARIS will increase the danger of all-out nuclear war either by some irresponsible act, or by a misunderstanding, misinterpretation, or accident, or by an electronic or human breakdown. Imagine the psychological strain on Polaris crew members who are under water for weeks or months, away from normal life and controls. We will be entrusting our lives, and those of all the world, both now and for future generations, to men conditioned to carry out, without questioning, a command to kill millions of men, women and children.

This is what Commander Osborn of the George Washington said when he was asked how it felt to be the man whose act would unleash a Polaris submarine's destructive power. "I've never given it any thought. But if we

ever have to hit, we'll hit. And there won't be a second's hesitation."

Polaris is the darling of those who advocate "preventive" or "pre-emptive war." Polaris puts our fate under control of that group of "defence" thinkers who are least rational—men whose hate and fear of Russia has become pathological.—William H. Cary "Madmen at Work."

## NIGHTMARE FOLLY

THE destructive power of atomic stockpiles has increased far more than a hundredfold—how much more it may be neither permissible nor relevant to tell. . . . The new means of delivery and use have made of the command and control of these weapon systems a nightmare folly known only to those responsible. What some of us know and some of our governments have recognised all people should know and every government understand: if this next great war occurs none of us can count on having enough living to bury our dead.—J. Robert Oppenheimer, New York Herald Tribune, June 17, 1960.

## THE TIMES EXPLAINS

THE differences between London and Washington over the interpretation of the Prime Minister's statement that no decision to use the Polaris missile would be taken without "the fullest possible previous consultation" are largely verbal. The use of the word "possible" means that there will be consultation—if there is time.

The recent change in American strategic thinking has not yet been realised in Britain. There is no longer any thought in official circles in Washington of using strategic nuclear weapons first: they would be used only in retaliation against a strategic nuclear attack.

If such an attack took place there would be no time for consultation, so that if the Polaris missiles were ever fired it would be in circumstances that

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would rule out prior consultation. The issue raised by the Prime Minister's statement is therefore academic.—The Times' Defence Correspondent, Nov. 3, 1960.

## SENSE OF SHAME

IS there anyone . . . who does not feel a sense of shame at the mere words "Holy Loch"? Britain's leaders have not only ceded the base to America. They have surrendered any right to ask what use it will be put to.—Sunday Express, Nov. 6, 1960.

## HOW MUCH LONGER?

WHERE does a professedly Christian country draw the line? How much longer are we going to pretend that we are preserving the highest values of Christian civilisation by basing our security on such weapons? . . . The time is NOW for this country to show another way—the way of unilateral disarmament and the rededication of our skills and resources to the well-being of our fellow men . . . only along this path, whatever its dangers, can mankind move forward.—Friends Peace Committee (Quakers),

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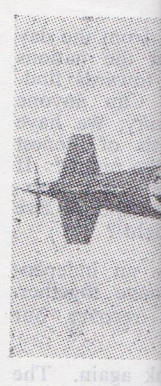
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## Polaris

WHETHER the American submarine base in Scotland increases our fear that Great Britain would be the first victim in a war between America and Russia is a matter of opinion. It may well be that a submarine base is less likely to invite attack than the fixed rocket sites that already exist.

It is not, however, on the ground of fear that we, the members of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, base our opposition to this new step in the arms race. We are concerned not so much with the justifiable apprehension caused by the policy of peace through deterrence as by the nature of the policies and actions to which we are being committed.

Every new weapon can be logically justified by reference to the last new weapon. The very basis of the policy of deterrence is that each side must strive to redress the balance temporarily upset by the perfection of a more deadly weapon "on the other side." But every such "logical" step besides increasing our apprehensions pushes further away the signing of an international disarmament treaty, and destroys the atmosphere in which agreements removing the causes of tension could be negotiated.

The ground for our opposition is deeper still. Many unilateralists are asking: "How much longer are we to tolerate the dangers to which our participation in the arms race is exposing us?" We would again add the question: "How much longer are we to blind ourselves to the moral implications of what we are doing?"

One Polaris missile is many times more powerful than the atom bomb dropped on Hiroshima which, we are told, killed at least 100,000 people. Each submarine will be able to launch within 15 minutes several times the explosive power of all the bombs dropped by American planes in World War II.

Where does a professedly Christian country draw the line? How much longer are we going to pretend that we are preserving the highest values of Christian civilisation by basing our security on such weapons? What is the good of striving to prevent moral standards from slipping in our national life when as a nation we are committed to the catastrophic moral landslide of our arms policy?

The gap between our right hand which at home protects life and collects money for refugees, and our left hand which is preparing weapons that can destroy the whole world is widening. Once again we call upon men and women everywhere, and

# Letters to the Editor

The time is now for this country to show another way—the way of unilateral disarmament and the rededication of our skills and resources to the well-being of our fellow men. Such a revolution is a challenge to our faith, our imagination and our courage, and our response to the challenge the truest measure of our greatness. We are convinced that only along this path, whatever its dangers, can mankind move forward.—**ROBERT DAVIS, Chairman, Society of Friends Peace Committee, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.**

## Whitehall protest

A NO Tax for Nuclear Arms poster parade will be held on Saturday, Nov. 19, in Whitehall from 9.30-1 p.m. Assembly point will be the Trafalgar Sq. end of Whitehall.

The Committee Against Tax for Nuclear Arms thinks that at this stage in the tax refusal campaign some public demonstration of protest on the issue is called for.

Participants should be people who have either decided to withhold a portion of their tax or who, if on PAYE, have notified their tax office that they wish to be taken off PAYE in order to be able to withhold tax.

We should like to hear immediately by post from people in these categories who wish to join in the poster parade.—**PAT ARROWSMITH, The Committee Against Tax for Nuclear Arms, 344 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N.4.**

## Hiroshima

ADDITIONAL proof that preliminary peace negotiations did, in fact, take place on July 24, 1945, is to be found in the autobiography of John Leighton Stuart, *FIFTY YEARS IN CHINA*, published about 1955.

From page 149 one reads of the moves which led to the sending of a delegation headed by Mr. Kawai from Japan to meet Leighton Stuart then acting as American Ambassador in China. "Mr. Kawai talked very freely of the desperate plight of his country and the necessity of ending the war without delay on any terms whatever."

I borrowed this book some time in 1955 from the United States Information Service Library in Grosvenor Square. Friends who have since tried to borrow it have always

over 1,000 letters to their schools from other Japanese children who want correspondents in this country. We have found pen friends for 150 of these but still have a large number of letters awaiting replies.

Could anybody having contact with children kindly help by taking a batch of letters? We are anxious that they should all be answered as the children in Japan appear very keen to have pen friends in Britain.

We should appreciate any help that can be given by your readers.—**REGINALD and WINIFRED PORCAS, 260 Lower Addiscombe Rd., Croydon, Surrey.**

## 'Prisoners for Peace'

MAY I appeal to your readers who will be supporting the *Peace News* Bazaar on December 3 to take the opportunity when visiting London on this occasion to join in the "Prisoners for Peace" poster parade.

We shall assemble at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., Euston, W.C.1, at 10.30 a.m. to start the parade from Russell Square at 11.0 a.m.

Prisoners for Peace Day is commemorated annually throughout the world. It is to draw attention to the fact that men and women are in prison at the present time because they are protesting against war and the arms race.

I feel sure many of your readers would wish to identify themselves with these war resisters. By joining us they will have the opportunity of doing so before going on to enjoy themselves at the bazaar.—**NORA PAGE, 23 Kenmare Gardens, London, N.13.**

## NATO and UN

I WAS glad to read in your columns (PN, Oct. 21) praise for the UN agencies concerned with raising living standards, as it is quite true that their good work is often overshadowed by the unedifying scenes enacted in the General Assembly. At the same time, I don't think we can ever show too much concern for the low prestige into which UNO as a political body has sunk.

Could not genuine adherence to the UN Charter, and active work with the neutralist nations to revive UNO as a peace-making and governing force, become the positive

PEACE NEWS, November 11, 1960—5

doubts whether we really have a clear, positive alternative to "collective security" within NATO. I believe that we can have a clear-cut rational policy which will develop the aims of CND in a logical sequence, but only if we lose no time in totally repudiating NATO and taking our stand unreservedly on the UN Charter, which embodies the spirit of non-violence and real negotiation from strength—the strength of peace.—**NICHOLAS SIMS, Hillside, Bradfield College, Reading, Berkshire.**

## Anti-apartheid fund

SO few people are aware of the way in which they can help our friends in South Africa who are suffering under Apartheid.

If co-operative members, whatever part of the country they live in, will use share number BD4 when buying goods, the dividend will go to the South African Defence and Aid Fund.—**VALERIE HUGHES, 139 Thingwall Rd., Wavertree, Liverpool 15.**

## At Friendship House

THE Freundschaftsheim (Friendship House) at Bückeburg in North Germany is once again arranging an international Christmas party. It will last for the week December 22 to 29, and the charge is £6. There will be a full programme of festivities, excursions, invitations to German homes, and exchanges of ideas and experiences.

A warm welcome will be given to anyone who might be lonely at Christmas, and particularly to African, Asian, American or other students in Britain. For full details and enrolments apply to Aubrey Brocklehurst, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## Students help families

The East London Family Service Unit (formerly the Stepney Pacifist Service Unit) is helping 45 families in the area, says the Annual Report issued recently. British and American students were helping in their work during the summer.

YOU SHOULD READ:

ONE IN FIVE

MUST KNOW



Where does a professedly Christian country draw the line? How much longer are we going to pretend that we are preserving the highest values of Christian civilisation by basing our security on such weapons? What is the good of striving to prevent moral standards from slipping in our national life when as a nation we are committed to the catastrophic moral landslide of our arms policy?

The gap between our right hand which at home protects life and collects money for refugees, and our left hand which is preparing weapons that can destroy the whole world is widening. Once again we call upon men and women everywhere, and especially those who are active and faithful members of their church, to join us in pleading with us that the gap shall be closed; that Christianity which teaches us to feed the hungry shall even now turn our actions from the evil path along which we are almost fatalistically stumbling and which, we are convinced, can only end in disaster.

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I borrowed this book some time in 1955 from the United States Information Service Library in Grosvenor Square. Friends who have since tried to borrow it have always been unsuccessful, but it could, no doubt, be consulted at the British Museum Library.—**EDITH ADLAM, 82 Thomas St., Wells, Somerset.**

## Soviet imperialism

**JIM PECK'S** letter (PN, Oct 28) on "UN's Star Cast" refers to the "cold war pitch" of most of the American press. I am sorry to note that he too falls for this cold war attitude, or how could he suggest some "ulterior motive" in Soviet anti-imperialism?

I do not believe that Jim Peck is ignorant of the fact that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were all equally consistent and open in their condemnation of imperialism and their proclamation of their belief in the equality of all nations.

If Khrushchev has been more vocal and more concrete on this subject at the present Assembly, this is purely because history itself has made the matter highly topical. Where is the "ulterior motive" in proclaiming one of the oldest articles of his faith?—**PAT SLOANE, Gen. Sec., British Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., London, E.C.1.**

## Pen friends

A FEW months ago our two eldest children, Jennifer and Richard, were asked to pose for a series of photographs illustrating: "My School and Home Town." This was done by The Associated Press for a Japanese educational magazine who were featuring a "Round the World" series.

Since the magazine was published Jennifer and Richard have received over 20 letters from Japanese children who want to be their pen friends. They have managed to share these letters among their school friends, but the Editor has since forwarded

N.13.  
**NATO and UN**

I WAS glad to read in your columns (PN, Oct. 21) praise for the UN agencies concerned with raising living standards, as it is quite true that their good work is often overshadowed by the unedifying scenes enacted in the General Assembly. At the same time, I don't think we can ever show too much concern for the low prestige into which UNO as a political body has sunk.

Could not genuine adherence to the UN Charter, and active work with the neutralist nations to revive UNO as a peace-making and governing force, become the positive policy of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Left?

This has been suggested often in recent weeks, but it is still not adopted by the Labour Party, which has not yet specifically rejected membership of NATO.

The truth is that even if NATO did give up the bomb it would still be, in its present state of mind, an anti-Communist military alliance. If it had progressed far enough to see that true defence is not military but moral it would, without doubt, be ashamed enough of its past to drop its old name.

Until CND and any party with the same policy commit themselves to a clean break with NATO they cannot single-mindedly pursue a true neutral course with the accent on the UN Charter. The result of the present "NATO-but-no-bomb" policy can only be unhappy confusion and pertinent

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# BOMB AND TORMENT

**No High Ground**, by Fletcher Knebel and Charles Bailey. Weidenfel and Nicolson. 21s.

ON August 14, 1945, eight days after Western man had proved to the world and himself his ability to interfere with the very structure of his planet, and to undermine the basis of human life, the US Air Force General, Spaatz, cabled to his friend Lovett, Assistant Secretary of War for Air:

Have looked at good photos of Hiroshima to-day. The atomic bomb disposes of all high ground."

The General was borrowing the words of Sun Tzu, Chinese strategist of the fifth century BC: "All armies prefer high ground to low, and sunny places to dark."

Since the morning of August 6, 1945, all the peoples of the world have lived in the dark places, in the shadow of the appalling crime man has committed against himself. The guilt has darkened his soul, and possessed him with fears comparable with those known to his remote ancestors.

Like primitive man we live in dread of forces we do not understand; even the rain falling incessantly upon this island bears with it fall-out known as Strontium 90, and much else besides. In hysteria, and clinging to the known stratagems of the past, gabbling of "war and weapons and defence," as though to exercise his devils, we are embarked upon a mad dance of death known at the moment as the balance of terror.

The only hope is that from the beginning, from before the hour when Hiroshima lay in its framework of clouds in the dazzling sunshine, its pavements awaiting the imprints of its inhabitants, man has thought about it, and is unlikely ever to cease to think about it until he learns to become master of himself, his soul, and therefore of his deed and its appalling instrument. Such books as the one under review should be a help.

This one attempts to trace the progress of the atom bomb almost from its beginning to a few days beyond its end on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. A "thin man" bomb on Hiroshima, a "fat man" bomb on Nagasaki. The very names sound obscene in the context. Unhappily this book is written in a dreadful Americanese "College

Days" idiom which gives an unfaltering impression of superficiality and trivia. The trivia is real, even to the "candy" for the General in charge of "The Manhattan Project," as it was called.

The author's habit of giving almost every character—and there are a great many characters—not only full names, titles, ranks, but also, nicknames, previous occupations, even colour of eyes, weight, hair line, waist line, and so on, is worse than distracting. Major William L. (Bud) Uanna, a Tufts College engineering graduate and Suffolk University Law graduate, is typical.

But in Chapter Six the subject begins to take hold of the authors, even though they never quite manage to take hold of the subject. There's General Spaatz saying to General Handy: "Listen, Tom. If I'm going to kill 100,000 people, I'm not going to do it on verbal orders. I want a piece of paper." That must have been the piece of paper to end all pieces of paper.

There were many in the know, saying with Roosevelt:

"Pray God it works. It will save many American lives." And nearly as many saying the reverse and praying it wouldn't work. The President's Chief of Staff was one of these.

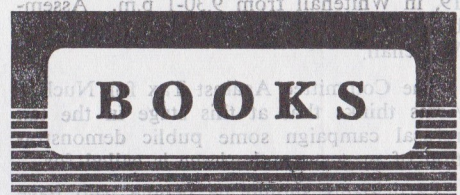
In fact, by catapulting the Russians into Manchuria and swiftly on to one or two dangerous parallels of latitude, it made the Korean war a near certainty, and killed many thousands of Americans and tens of thousands of Koreans. Above all it was known then, as now, that the Japanese were trying to surrender before the atom bomb.

Herein is the heart of the matter. The authors, while never quite getting to grips with the facts, do follow the Japanese attempts to make contact, their appeals to the Russians to mediate, and they reveal that the US Navy intercepted the Japanese surrender messages to Russia in ample time. All that stood between them and the end of the war were the words "Uncon-

What went wrong? One has the powerful impression that once this "thing" had begun it could have no other end. General Groves, in charge of the Manhattan Project, said of President Truman, he "was like a little boy on a toboggan. He never had an opportunity to say 'we will drop the bomb.' All he could do was say 'no.'"

The blame belongs to us all, and only by sharing it willingly may we hope to save ourselves and our world from catastrophe.

In their last chapters the authors recount quite simply the last minutes, revealing as the seconds run out the torments beginning to infest the minds of most of those closely involved. Some were young,



some were middle-aged, some even were growing old. In the main their reactions are not a discredit to the human race, and there was one man, Chief of Staff to the President of the United States, Fleet Admiral William D. Leahy, whose words rang out bravely then and now:

"The use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender. . . My own feeling was that in being the first to use it we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children. . . One of the professors associated with the Manhattan Project told me that he had hoped the bomb wouldn't work. I wish that he had been right."

Many others made comments to remember in these first hours. "It may black-mail the world into peace," said Eisenhower. "We may yet reap the whirlwind," wrote Hanson Baldwin in *The New York Times*. "I don't want anything to do with it. I am leaving this world," said Goering in his death-bed.

## Exploring peace

**Studies in the Problems of Peace**, by K. Satchidananda Murty and A. C. Bouquet. Asia Publishing House. 37s pp. 52s. 6d.

AN Indian philosopher from Andhra University, Dr. Murty, and a Christian clergyman and lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. Bouquet, have collaborated to produce this volume.

Dr. Bouquet's first part surveys certain efforts to achieve world peace, ranging from Meng-ko (Mencius) to the United Nations. Dr. Murty then ranges in his survey from early Hindu philosophy's attitude to force and social equilibrium through the philosophies of "ahimsa and forgiveness," "violence and terror," "liberty and revolution" to the causes of war and discussion of the bases of peace.

The author's intention has been a noble one; a survey of the scope they have attempted can be very useful indeed, particularly as a general introduction to readers new to the field. As the book stands, there is much useful material in it for the reader who has little background in the field and who wants simply a general survey without worrying about whether or not it is always accurate in details.

It is a pity, however, that the book falls far short of its goal. The contributions of both authors are at times useful and stimulating while both are, more often, inadequate and something very much less than profound. It would have been very good if these authors had adhered essentially to the present outline of the book but had spent, say, three to five years on research, thought, and drafting of the manuscript.

As it stands, the brief summaries and evaluations of the thinking of important thinkers (including, only for example, Dante, Rousseau, Asoka, Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, Marx, Macchiavelli, Plato, Freud, Gandhi, Nehru and many others) are usually far too glib and superficial to be of much use to the serious reader.



Several important opportunities by the authors were lost. Dr. Murty began, for example, what one hoped would be a



ning, from before the hour when the shima lay in its framework of clouds in the dazzling sunshine, its pavements awaiting the imprints of its inhabitants, man has thought about it, and is unlikely ever to cease to think about it until he learns to become master of himself, his soul, and therefore of his deed and its appalling instrument. Such books as the one under review should be a help.

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These words, carelessly spoken, and as carelessly accepted, had already led to the physical destruction of Germany, the prolongation of the war, the occupation of Central Europe by Soviet Russia and the "Iron Curtain." Now they led inevitably to the deaths of two cities and nearly 200,000 of our fellow men, women and children, plus hideous "invisible" and potent menaces still with us, many of them descending on our island, our pastures, our food, and all the world with the rain.

Had the Japanese known that they could keep their Emperor there is very little doubt that there would have been peace.

It was that in being the first to use it we had adopted an ethical standard common to the barbarians of the Dark Ages. I was not taught to make war in that fashion and wars cannot be won by destroying women and children. . . One of the professors associated with the Manhattan Project told me that he had hoped the bomb wouldn't work. I wish that he had been right."

Many others made comments to remember in these first hours. "It may black-mail the world into peace," said Eisenhower. "We may yet reap the whirlwind," wrote Hanson Baldwin in *The New York Times*. "I don't want anything to do with it. I am leaving this world," said Goering in his death cell.

Now, if you gain the confidence of Asiatic peoples, you may learn of the immense burden Western man bears in their eyes. Ours are the gas chambers, the Bel-sens, the racial persecutions, the napalm shrivelling human flesh in the fire raid on Tokyo that killed 78,000, the tens of thousands burned to death in Kenya—and, finally, the atom bomb.

All the horror of the centuries pales before our efforts in a single decade of the twentieth century, and no one who has read the reports of the defence correspondents recently returned from the rocket sites, can be sure that the future is in our hands.

The huge rockets with their atomic war-heads stand "hissing gently" with "steam up" at their giant moorings, while behind them, in the vast concrete cavities tunnelled into the bowels of the earth ever new and better bombs pile up, exerting a pressure that may prove irresistible. There is a growing feeling that this "thing" is taking command. "Man in the Grip of a Monster" read the headline in *The Sunday Times*.

It may be that man is no longer his only enemy, and that if ever there are men again in the remote future, it may seem to them that on that August morning of 1945 we began the chain reaction which disintegrated our species; that all followed as the night the day.

**R. W. THOMPSON.**

The reviewer, a student of military strategy, was a war correspondent during World War II and the Korean War. He is author of *CRY KOREA* and other works.

As it stands, the brief summaries and evaluations of the thinking of important thinkers (including, only for example, Dante, Rousseau, Asoka, Hobbes, Locke, Hegel, Marx, Macchiavelli, Plato, Freud, Gandhi, Nehru and many others) are usually far too glib and superficial to be of much use to the serious reader.

★

Several important opportunities by the authors were lost. Dr. Murti began, for example, what one hoped would be a stimulating critique of Gandhi and non-violence, but it turned out that his comments were usually less than profound, often irrelevant, and some of the most important aspects were ignored.

Later he began to distinguish between force and violence—a useful analysis which needs to be made—but ended a few paragraphs later, having shattered one's hopes, saying essentially that the difference lies *not in the means or in the acts committed*, but in whether it is "constructive," used with "a clear idea of the end sought," "the most efficient and economic means" of achieving an end (in which cases it is "force"), while if *the same outward behaviour* (including war and violent revolution at times) results in waste and oppression, is not efficient, is used for an unclear end, etc., then it is "violence"! So the same acts have a nice name if you agree they should be used and a naughty name if you don't!

Dr. Bouquet presents a stimulating idea in his concluding chapter: "If Satyagraha against militarists of all sorts and in all countries were ever to succeed, it could only be by such an immense and widespread and carefully organised international scheme of passive non-co-operation (involving, one supposes, the subversion of the armed forces so that they refuse to operate their weapons) that complete paralysis of the coercive machinery available to any government might ensue" (p. 355).

Instead of exploring the idea further, he then quietly drops it, worried lest the methods might be extended to the police and criminal elements might get out of hand.

I write this critical review, not in anger, but in sadness that a better job has not been done on a theme which is so important.

**GENE SHARP.**

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# Difficulties of disarmament

By W. Grigor McClelland

Last week Grigor McClelland wrote of the portion of our annual arms expenditure which is used on production, supplies and research. It amounts to £1,072, 000,000.

In the event of disarmament almost a third of that expenditure would be taken up by the people in the Forces and industry who would continue to need food and clothing, while the one-twentieth of our building, contracting and civil engineering industry employed on military work would be welcome in creating new roads, hospitals, houses and where necessary factory extensions to employ the demobbed. The petrol and fuel would be turned to civilian use or represent a saving on our import bill. This one-third amounted to £310,000.

He continues:

IT is in the other two-thirds that the difficulties arise. The aircraft industry is bound to have a difficult time if over half the demand for its products disappears.

Moreover, it is geographically concentrated. The drop of £30,000,000 from 1957-8—only one-seventh of the remaining figure—has already caused difficulties. Some of the savings on defence expenditure will have to be used for subsidies to this industry to ease the transition to a commercial basis and a smaller scale. It is encouraging, at any rate, to note how much less dependent on defence orders it is now than it was six years ago, when they accounted for 79 per cent of its total output.

In electronics the share is also very large. Fortunately the scope for electronic equipment in peaceful industry is enormous and growing. Obviously it takes time to turn the skills, organisation and machinery that have been supplying missile guidance or radar warning systems into supplying electronic computers, machine translators, or the automation for factories, but there is no fundamental difficulty.

## CONVERTING WEAPONS

Perhaps this is the point at which to skip to the research and development figures.

Defence accounts for half the country's total expenditure in this field. It employs a quarter of the country's total supply of

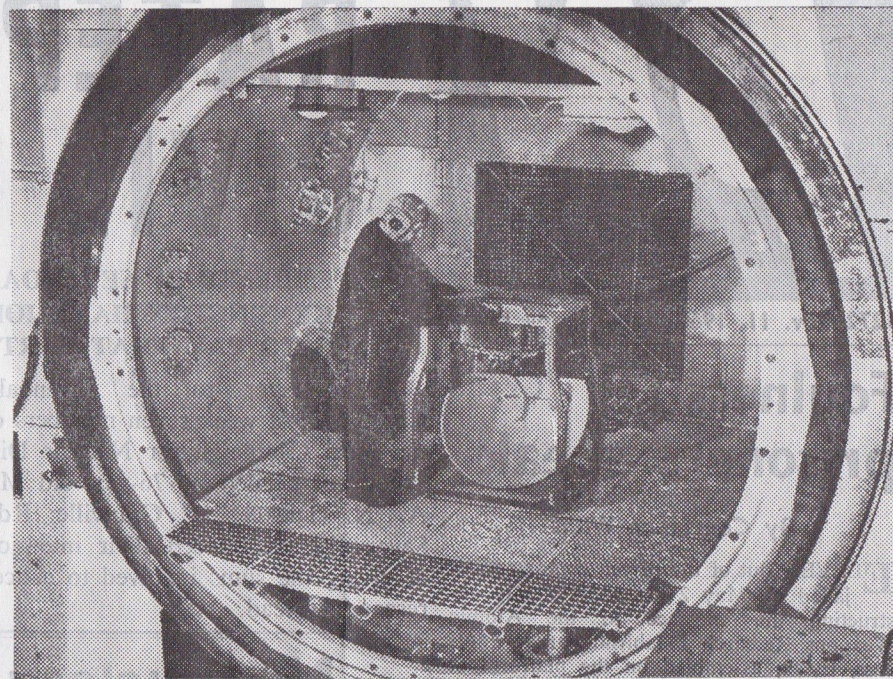
neering products such as machine-tool components; the metallurgical, chemical and engineering skills involved can also be turned into useful channels.

What will really be needed to put together with these resources is: competitive-minded management in general, and salesmen in particular!

The shipbuilding industry is likely, however, to be a problem second only to the aircraft industry, which it resembles in being highly localised. Under inferior management it has lost ground to German and Japanese shipbuilders and in the world market at present supply appears to exceed demand. To lose a fifth of its custom is bound to be a blow. Special action might well be needed here, unless (as is possible) disarmament were to result in a dramatic increase in the volume of world trade.

In general, we can say that the problems of putting the resources to better use in the event even of speedy disarmament, are not likely to be as great as is often feared. Even though defence expenditure accounts for seven and a half per cent of the national income and the equivalent of seven per cent of our working population, purchases of aircraft and ships, where the worst problems are likely to arise, only account for 17.9 per cent of total defence expenditure, or 1.34 per cent of our national income.

How would disarmament affect Britain's overseas balance of payments? At present our defence expenditure abroad is nearly £100,000,000 per annum greater than our



The Stratosphere Chamber at the Royal Radar Establishment at Malvern, Worcestershire, where development of electronic equipment for the armed forces is carried out.

Radar warning systems could be converted with no fundamental difficulty.

or to zero, could be achieved in a matter of six or twelve months without serious dislocation, if properly planned and controlled. I think that whether it comes unilaterally or multilaterally, it might be rapid.

In part my reason for this depends on the distinction between production and stocks. So far I have been speaking in terms of annual expenditure—on buying new guns and planes, for example. But at any point in time, the Forces possess the older guns and planes. Depending on the rate of obsolescence, they may represent say four or six years' expenditure.

## SURPLUS STOCKS

Now if we agree to reduce our number of military aircraft by equal instalments over six years, and military aircraft last six years before disappearing as obsolete, production must fall to nil in the year we sign the agreement unless we adopt the more expensive course of destroying as many pre-obsolete planes as we produce. Mr.

problem which I have not mentioned, and there is one important thing to be said about it.

Insofar as the previous discussion has had an underlying assumption, it is that the resources would be redirected towards the continued growth of the British economy and the welfare of the British people. It is easy enough to point to the things we still need, which we could have if defence expenditure were to cease.

But we cannot—we must not—forget that for most of the last ten years the governments of the wealthy countries of the Western world have been saying to the poor countries: "Yes, we would like to help you, we will help you, but we cannot just now, wait till the arms burden is reduced."

In considering this matter we should perhaps remember that British defence expenditure, large in absolute terms though it is, is only a small fraction of the world's defence expenditure or even of that of the Western alliance. That of the United States alone being over twice as much per head



Fortunately the scope for electronic equipment in peaceful industry is enormous and growing. Obviously it takes time to turn the skills, organisation and machinery that have been supplying missile guidance or radar warning systems into supplying electronic computers, machine translators, or the automation for factories, but there is no fundamental difficulty.

## CONVERTING WEAPONS

Perhaps this is the point at which to skip to the research and development figures.

Defence accounts for half the country's total expenditure in this field. It employs a quarter of the country's total supply of qualified scientists and engineers. These resources, like the electronics industry, have the most tremendous contribution to make to raising productivity. Peaceful industry is being starved of them.

The greater the proportion taken by defence, the greater the potential gain from disarmament: this truism has even more force in this field than elsewhere.

Guns, armour and ammunition, too, surprisingly, do not present fundamental difficulties. They are essentially metal-using industries. As swords into ploughshares, so tanks into earth-shifters, gun-barrels into printing presses, small arms into light engi-

In general, we can say that the problems of putting the resources to better use in the event even of speedy disarmament, are not likely to be as great as is often feared. Even though defence expenditure accounts for seven and a half per cent of the national income and the equivalent of seven per cent of our working population, purchases of aircraft and ships, where the worst problems are likely to arise, only account for 17.9 per cent of total defence expenditure, or 1.34 per cent of our national income.

**How would disarmament affect Britain's overseas balance of payments?** At present our defence expenditure abroad is nearly £100,000,000 per annum greater than our corresponding direct benefits—mainly US forces' expenditure here. To terminate this would be a most useful fillip to our balance of payments. The *Economic Review* calculates that the "import content" of defence expenditure at home is roughly the same as that of civilian production.

## IMPORTS—EXPORTS

It is right to conclude that "if labour employed in production for the services were turned to non-military work, the import bill would be no less;" but wrong to argue that in this respect defence is no extra burden on the balance of payments. This would only be true if all the extra production were consumed at home.

It is highly relevant that any portion of the extra production could be exported, whilst none of the product of our defence expenditure can be (if it is to serve for our defence). It becomes even more important when we realise that the 7½ per cent elbow-room it would give us is just what we have so desperately lacked in many recent years, when exports have been thrust back in the competition between consumption, investment, and defence for bigger shares in an only slowly-growing cake.

Having now attempted answers to the five questions listed earlier, let me indicate some problems I have not discussed and points I have not made.

First, though I have said that conversion and resettlement will not present insuperable difficulties, I have not relied on the Prime Minister's argument for not setting up an enquiry into them, namely, that disarmament is bound to be spread over a number of years.

I think that a cutback of defence expenditure to 1930 or "police-force" level,

new guns and planes, for example. But at any point in time, the Forces possess the older guns and planes. Depending on the rate of obsolescence, they may represent say four or six years' expenditure.

## SURPLUS STOCKS

Now if we agree to reduce our number of military aircraft by equal instalments over six years, and military aircraft last six years before disappearing as obsolete, production must fall to nil in the year we sign the agreement unless we adopt the more expensive course of destroying as many pre-obsolete planes as we produce. Mr. Macmillan's answer made it appear that he had not devoted attention to this simple point.

Connected with this is another problem I have not discussed. This is what happens to surplus stocks. For years after 1945 they played a valuable if minor role in the economy. Some fortunes were made in connection with their disposal.

This time their sudden release would heavily depress some markets and there are dislocation problems here that should be considered. Don't be put off by this. There is a solution to this problem—to dump all the surplus stocks in the sea. All I am asking for is such consideration as might lead to a better solution than this.

Thirdly, I have not discussed in any way the economic consequences of other nations disarming at the same time as Britain did. (Except in assuming that if we saved our overseas defence expenditure, our balance of payments would not continue to benefit from American defence expenditure here.) Nor shall I, for to do so would require a far deeper study than I am competent to undertake.

Fourthly, I have not discussed the administrative and fiscal arrangements under which disarmament, the resettlement of men and women and the conversion of industry might be undertaken. These are important matters, but they very much depend on the character of our society and our economy, on which Government is in power, and so on.

In particular, they depend on the purposes to which it is proposed to re-direct the resources in question. This is a fifth

still need, we could have if defence expenditure were to cease.

But we cannot—we must not—forget that for most of the last ten years the governments of the wealthy countries of the Western world have been saying to the poor countries: "Yes, we would like to help you, we will help you, but we cannot just now, wait till the arms burden is reduced."

In considering this matter we should perhaps remember that British defence expenditure, large in absolute terms, though it is, is only a small fraction of the world's defence expenditure or even of that of the Western alliance. That of the United States alone, being over twice as much per head for a population over three times as large, is nearly seven times ours.

*Concluded.*

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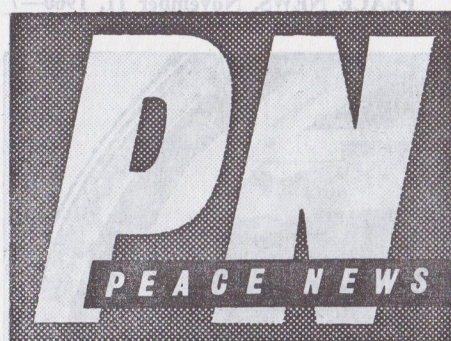
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## Foulness prisoners speak

By Constance Willis

**E**LEVEN out of the fifteen demonstrators jailed on May 2 for non-violently obstructing the entrance to the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness, Essex, assembled on the platform at Denison House, London, on November 4—a few days after their release—at a meeting organised by The Foulness Prisoners Committee.

Ian Dixon, presiding, gave them “a hearty welcome to freedom,” conveyed messages from several people, including the novelist, Doris Lessing, and read the following telegram from Earl Russell:

“Warm congratulations to released prisoners on end of ordeal and admiration for your gallant action and your courage. May it prove fruitful.”

There was loud applause when the meeting heard that the prisoners at Stafford had refused to eat the South African food which formed part of the prison diet. Some Negro prisoners had joined them in this act.

Mrs. Phoebe Willetts (first of the three ex-prisoners who took advantage of the opportunity to speak), a Methodist and mother of two teen-age children, stressed the importance of thinking in terms of sacrificing as much for peace as for war, for peace was the reality and war the shadow. She believed there was no justification for breaking the law unless one had a great respect for it.

**HUNGER - STRIKE**

# RATEPAYERS EXPOSE CIVIL DEFENCE FARCE

**RESIDENTS OF SEVENOAKS, KENT, AND THE LONDON BOROUGH OF CHELSEA AND KENSINGTON HAVE JOINED THE GROWING NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO ARE REFUSING TO PAY THAT PART OF THE LOCAL RATES THAT GOES ON CIVIL DEFENCE.**

In a letter to the Sevenoaks Chronicle last week seven members of the local Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament headed by 76-year-old Mr. A. N. Tucker, of Granville Rd., Sevenoaks, announced their intention of giving the sums involved to cancer research instead.

They stated that their reasons were:

1. No Civil Defence organisation commensurate with the threat of nuclear war exists.
2. It is unlikely that any organisation however well trained could do more than operate in a few undamaged areas on the upwind side of the island in the event of a serious nuclear attack.
3. Shelters could keep people alive, even

through a heavy attack, but their cost would be far beyond the capacity of any local authority which could not provide food, water or occupation for those who survived in a devastated country.

4. CD is misleading the public by giving the false impression that nuclear weapons are not too bad and that simple precautions would be generally effective.

A representative of Sevenoaks Urban District Council later commented that the CD levy was a county levy and that failure to pay would be met by a court action.

In Kensington 46-year-old Anthony Weaver, of Campden Grove, a senior lecturer at a teacher training college, has refused to pay 2s. 4d. towards the Civil Defence rate.

## No nuclear skill for war

**A** REGISTER of scientists, technicians and teachers who refuse to devote their skills to the military aspects of nuclear energy is to be established by the Campaign Against Careers in Nuclear Weapons Industry, which is currently circulating a petition for such people to sign.

The committee urges people in these professions to use their influence to bring direct pressure to bear by refusing to work on nuclear weapons or allowing such work to be done under their auspices, and by publicising their stand to make a maximum impression on their colleagues, pupils and the general public.

In a statement circulating with the petition the Committee says that the “disinterested scientist” in the old sense is no longer a moral possibility. The catastrophic possibilities of science devoted to the means of wholesale destruction have placed extra responsibilities on scientists, over and above those on the ordinary citizen, to make the public appreciate the vast consequences of their work, states the Committee.

The Committee is particularly concerned that students and trainees should be dissuaded from this work before their livelihood becomes dependent upon it.

Secretary of the Committee is Michael Levine, of 51 South Grove House, West Hill, London, N.6.

## CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN PARIS

**W**HEN traffic in Paris was at its peak last Saturday a group of 80 people took up their positions for a silent demonstration in the middle of the Place Vendôme, opposite the Ministry of Justice. This was the first of a series of silent demonstrations by the Action Civique Non-Violente to be arranged once a fortnight in support of the following claims:

1. That the Service Civil is a constructive method of resolving the problem of resistance to military service to which approximately 5,000 Frenchmen are at present resorting.
2. That the young men who are in prison while they are asking to be allowed to give civilian service, of a dangerous character where necessary, are entitled to the respect of the public.

Jo Pyronet, who is the responsible leader of this French non-violent direct action

## FUTILITY

Mr. Weaver, author of *War Outmoded*, a pamphlet surveying methods of civil disobedience and non-violent resistance, was for a short period chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

Commenting on the futility of nuclear war preparations and Civil Defence, Mr. Weaver stated: “This does not mean that we have to acquiesce in invasion or in attempts to destroy our way of life, but that another way of resisting must be found . . . a non-violent force which could take the lead on a huge scale through fraternisation and non-co-operation” could, he claimed, demoralise and convert “the personnel of an occupying power.”

The Borough Treasure restricted his reply to purely legal points, threatening to take proceedings against Mr. Weaver “after the next few weeks.”

In Chelsea 51-year-old Dr. Rachel Pinney, a general practitioner, has refused to pay her Civil Defence rates. On receiving



ing heard that the prisoners at Stafford refused to eat the South African food which formed part of the prison diet. Some Negro prisoners had joined them in this act.

Mrs. Phoebe Willetts (first of the three ex-prisoners who took advantage of the opportunity to speak), a Methodist and mother of two teen-age children, stressed the importance of thinking in terms of sacrificing as much for peace as for war, for peace was the reality and war the shadow. She believed there was no justification for breaking the law unless one had a great respect for it.

## HUNGER - STRIKE

"A crank is a small machine that makes revolutions"—so quoted Will Warren, seasoned campaigner who has been in prison more than once before. He asserted only one thing could break war—the power of love.

Laurens Otter, who (with the Stafford prisoners) had staged a hunger-strike whilst in prison against scheduled hangings—"it intrigues the warders," he said—declared that the deterrent of the rope and the bomb were only different in degree. Contrary to Phoebe Willetts, he did not respect the law—only the moral law.

Other speakers were Ethel Mannin, authoress, and Austin Underwood, Chairman of the Southern Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and a member of its Executive, who said:

"The only way forward out of the political quagmire has been shown by these people on the platform to-night—the path of civil disobedience. . . There must be no apartheid between the Campaign and the Direct Action folk."

In the course of the stimulating discussion which followed Michael Howard, chief marshal of the Aldermaston Marches and a member of CND Executive, said CND and Direct Action were interacting on each other, all had a part to play in the whole pattern of development, and they wanted Earl Russell in both.

Messages were sent from the meeting to the Committee for Non-violent Action, organisers of civil disobedience against Polaris submarines in the USA, and to Earl Russell and the Rev. Michael Scott, who, through the Committee of One Hundred, are contemplating the organisation of far bigger demonstrations of civil disobedience.

tion the Committee says that the "disinterested scientist" in the old sense is no longer a moral possibility. The catastrophic possibilities of science devoted to the means of wholesale destruction have placed extra responsibilities on scientists, over and above those on the ordinary citizen, to make the public appreciate the vast consequences of their work, states the Committee.

The Committee is particularly concerned that students and trainees should be dissuaded from this work before their livelihood becomes dependent upon it.

Secretary of the Committee is Michael Levine, of 51 South Grove House, West Hill, London, N.6.

## ND referendum

KING'S COLLEGE (Newcastle) Nuclear

Disarmament Society is conducting a referendum, in co-operation with the Combined Universities ND Campaign, amongst one-in-five of the students at the College during the last two weeks in November. The referendum will comprise about 25 questions relating to the defence of this country; they have been drawn up by experts and are designed to discover exactly why students do or do not support CND. The results will be computed at Manchester University and the report will be published in January.

Last week John Rex spoke to a 60-strong students meeting in the Union Coffee Room.

## New SANE director

DR. HOMER A. JACK, US clergyman and writer, has been appointed national executive director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, Norman Cousins and Clarence Pickett, national co-chairmen announced on Nov. 7. Dr. Jack had been associate director of the American Committee on Africa.

Dr. Jack will have the responsibility of administering an enlarged staff and programme toward developing American public opinion in favour of a treaty to stop nuclear weapons tests and to launch general disarmament. The National Committee was founded in 1957 and Dr. Jack was one of its original initiators. During 1958-59 he was chairman of its Chicago Chapter.

dome, opposite the Ministry of Justice. This was the first of a series of silent demonstrations by the Action Civique Non-Violente to be arranged once a fortnight in support of the following claims:

1. That the Service Civil is a constructive method of resolving the problem of resistance to military service to which approximately 5,000 Frenchmen are at present resorting.
2. That the young men who are in prison while they are asking to be allowed to give civilian service, of a dangerous character where necessary, are entitled to the respect of the public.

Jo Pyronet, who is the responsible leader of this French non-violent direct action movement had given advance notice to the Prefect of Police. He described its character and affirmed the unshakeable intention of those participating not to be prevented from making this public witness.

*A considerable number of police awaited the demonstrators both in the Tuileries Garden and at the Place Vendome, but for the first time in the history of non-violent demonstrations in France the police did not intervene.*

After a short but rather heated discussion the Chief of Police accepted with a good deal of impatience that the demonstrators should stand silently at the place they had fixed upon while a delegation carried a letter to the Minister of Justice.

## 1960 Aldermaston film

Peace News Reporter

THE Quakers are first in the field with a film of Aldermaston '60. Sponsored by the Friends Peace Committee, "Deadly the Harvest" is a professionally-made film, sincere and moving, and full of the life and bustle of that vital occasion. A real sense emerges of the way in which the march expressed something of the worship of the Quaker participants, who were also commemorating the third centenary of the historic Quaker peace witness.

"Deadly the Harvest" lasts about 20 minutes and is a black and white sound film in 16 mm. It will be included among the films to be shown at the Friends House Viewing Session on November 19.

"Deadly the Harvest" is already heavily booked, but enquiries concerning its distribution will be welcomed by Friends Peace Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

Commenting on the reality of nuclear war preparations and Civil Defence, Mr. Weaver stated: "This does not mean that we have to acquiesce in invasion or in attempts to destroy our way of life, but that another way of resisting must be found . . . a non-violent force which could take the lead on a huge scale through fraternisation and non-co-operation" could, he claimed, demoralise and convert "the personnel of an occupying power."

The Borough Treasure restricted his reply to purely legal points, threatening to take proceedings against Mr. Weaver "after the next few weeks."

In Chelsea 51-year-old Dr. Rachel Pinney, a general practitioner, has refused to pay her Civil Defence rates. On receiving the by now customary legalistic reply from the local treasury, Dr. Pinney told the Treasurer: "I appreciate the courtesy of your reply and understand its contents."

Local press publicity has been considerable for most of the rate refusers.

## Aldermaston '61—plus

THERE is to be a two-pronged march on London next Easter.

In addition to the march from Aldermaston, a simultaneous march will start from the U.S. Air Base at Weathersfield, reports the current issue of *Youth Against the Bomb*.

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